

TURKEY'S FOREIGN POLICY THROUGH ISIS IN SYRIA AND THE RETIRE OF "ZERO-PROBLEM-WITH-NEIGHBOR" POLICY

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Abstract

This study tries to elaborate the reason behind the change of the Turkey action against ISIS and its decision to join on the U.S led-coalition by involving in military intervention. This study also analyses the foreign policy of Turkey which named as "Zero problem with neighbor" policy to elaborate Turkey and its neighbor relations, especially with Syria. Since they have fluctuate relations and it being more complicated because of the rise of ISIS.

In international relations study, the change of Turkey's behavior to ISIS is related to foreign policy model, which is rational choice, which will explain the best reason of Turkey to finally using military intervention to fight against ISIS. Moreover, the theory of securitization from Barry Buzan can elaborate the speculation behind another purpose of Turkey to fight against ISIS.

The result of the study shows that based on rational choice model of foreign policy Turkey is betrayed its "zero-problem-with-neighbor" policy to protect its domestic security from the external threats. However, the securitization idea shows that Turkey has another purpose in conducting military intervention. It is not only to overthrow ISIS, but also to overthrow Kurdish and Bashar Al-Assad regime.

Keywords

Turkey-Syria relations, "Zero problem with neighbor" policy, Securitization, Rational Choice, Turkey and the U.S collaboration, Turkey's purposes.

INTRODUCTION

ISIS does not only give an impact in the Middle East, but it also begin to spread its ideology to parts of Western countries which resulting refugees from Syria to dock in Europe. The world now feels uncomfortable, responses and actions are taken to combat ISIS, but they not have succeeded to overthrow to make ISIS

collapse. Countries in the world have also made various efforts, such as Turkey, as a neighbor of Syria. Two years kept in silence by seeing what ISIS did and this country seems does not want to interfere in the fight against ISIS. But ultimately, ISIS action now is intolerable, then in mid-2015 Turkey carried out attacks in Syria and decided to join the U.S-led anti-ISIS coalition.

Wishy-washy action of Turkey in responding ISIS was confusing and surprising the world. At the first time, Turkey did not want to involve on attacking ISIS by military intervention, even this country already join on the U.S led-coalition. Then, Turkey getting angry after ISIS bombed Suruc, a city in Turkey that killed 33 people. As an action of the angriness, Turkey finally did military intervention to ISIS in Syrian border by carried out airstrikes and decided to establish ISIS free-zone in Turkish-Syrian borders in cooperation with the U.S. The decision of Turkey to fight against ISIS by military intervention not only be the matter of Turkey and ISIS, but also this is be a part of problem that should face by Turkey to its relationship with Syria. Turkey attacked ISIS in Syrian border, automatically this is be the foreign policy matter of Turkey through Syria. More, the decision of Turkey to establish ISIS Free-Zone in Turkish-Syrian borders mean those borders will full of Turkish army or in “helter skelter” condition because of military intervention.

“ZERO-PROBLEM-WITH-NEIGHBOR” POLICY

Ufuk Alatas explain the goodness of Turkey in Turkish Insight book, which the “nice” Turkey started in 2009, when Turkey with its previous President, Abdullah Gül implemented the new foreign policy of Turkey which called as “zero-problem-with-neighbor” policy¹. Turkey realized, as neighborhood, border conflict is prevalent and countries should avoid the war and should give priority to cooperation through each other. Turkey’s goal is to create a peaceful, stable and secure regional neighborhood. Based on previous time in the beginning of its independent, Turkey was has not good relations with Syria, as its close neighbor.

¹ “Turkish Foreign Policy in 2009: A Year of Pro-activity”, Insight Turkey Vol.12 No.1, 2010, SETA Foundation.

The way to accomplish its dazzling goal, Turkey has formulated a multi-dimensional foreign policy vision and taking a pro-active role in conflict resolution in the region. One of its effort that have been proven was the conflict between Arab and Israeli. At that time Turkey being a mediator partner for Israel and Syria negotiation to talk about Israel intervention in Gaza in 2008. Since Syria was mad to Israel because its cruelty through Palestine, even this negotiation could not change anything through Palestinian (could not bring good fate to them)².

The seriousness of Turkey to implement its “zero-problem-with-neighbor” foreign policy can be seen in the opening relations of Turkey-Syria-and Iraq. Explained by Mustafa Kibaroglu, Chair of the Department of Political Science and International Relations at MEF University in Istanbul, these three countries in 2009 were signed and aimed at improving relations in the areas of trade, interior affairs, welfare and housing, health, transport, water sources, energy, and agriculture. Even with Syria, both countries adding cooperation in terms of tourism, education, communication, electricity and industry. The act of these three countries made international society surprised. Since for long time, Turkey treated them more like foes rather than close friends³.

Turkey maintained its stability amid the chaos that surged many of its near neighbors. After Cold War era, Turkey can be concluded as follower of the west. Ahmet Davutoglu as Prime Minister of Turkey confidently said Turkey is as a part of the Western block, the international community began to look to Turkey as place of stability and a “bridge” country between east and west⁴.

When the foreign policy of a country has been decided and apply in a government, then no one else can blame. Likewise the decision of Turkey. Even Turkey’s decision is related to ISIS which is not considered as a country, but the behavior of Turkey through the area that not belong to it, means foreign policy is

² Ibid. see p3

³ Mustafa Kibaroglu, “What Went Wrong with the ‘Zero Problem with Neighbors’ Doctrine?”, Turkish Policy Quarterly, Fall 2012, Vol. 11, No. 3, Kadir Has University, Istanbul. <http://www.turkishpolicy.com>

⁴ See “Turkey’s foreign Policy Vision”, Insight Turkey Vol.10 No.1, 2008.

applied on it. More, it connected with Syria, as a place where Turkey carried out its military intervention.

In the beginning of Syrian uprising, Turkey acted nonchalantly. Perhaps the dictatorship of Bashar al-Assad deemed so harsh until Erdogan suggest Assad to do political reform rather than pressed the opposition⁵. Perhaps Turkey still stick up with its “zero-problem-with-neighbor” foreign policy to avoid the real war with Syria, after 3 years have sentimental hate-love relationship. But after cruel demonstration in Syria by Syrian opposition, Turkey seems to be act to "admonish" Assad. Then Turkey supported Syrian opposition to attack Assad regime as the send of “admonish” and Erdogan also said Turkey won’t stop until Assad step down from his position as the President of Syria⁶. By this action, the “zero-problem-with-neighbor” policy put into question from international society. More, the decision of Turkey to do military intervention through ISIS also made the relations of Turkey-Syria in deadlock. Once more, the foreign policy of Turkey which is “zero-problem-with-neighbor” being asked.

Turkey’s “zero-problem-with-neighbor” foreign policy considered as a successful foreign policy to bring and influence countries in the world to keep the peacefulness at that time. But Turkey seems betray its own policy in the respond of Syrian Uprising and ISIS as more. If in the beginning of ISIS establishment, Turkey does not want to involve on doing any intervention, but finally Turkey already changes its mind to attack ISIS by military intervention and also support Syrian opposition to overthrowing Assad regime, it sign as Turkey put off its foreign policy in term of these international issues.

TURKEY’S REASON BEHIND MILITARY INTERVENTION

There should be reason why Turkey finally changed its act and behavior in term of ISIS issue. Since this country avoiding military intervention at the first time, even it already join in the U.S led-coalition. But we have to wait for so long to Turkey for surprising us by its behavioral changing with its military intervention to

⁵ Raymond Hinnebusch, op.cit. See the “Negative tit for tat” chapter.

⁶ Mustafa Kibaroglu, op.cit. p 91-92.

attacking ISIS. Then finally on July, 2015 “the egg already cracked”, Turkey has done its intervention through ISIS by carried out airstrikes in Syrian border. One interesting thing that should be highlight is Turkey has to ask a help from the U.S for its military intervention.

The clear reason that used by Turkey for its reason to do military intervention to ISIS is the bombing in Suruc, the city of Turkey that made by ISIS and killed 33 people. But international society said it just classic reason. For a long time ISIS tried to destroy Turkey and tried to occupied its border, why the bomb being a reason behind Turkey’s military intervention. More, Turkey made more steps to attacking ISIS. Not only military intervention, but also Turkey and the U.S in cooperation to establish ISIS free-zone and Turkey allowed the U.S to build air base in Incirlik, Turkey, which is near to Syrian border. Those steps are too much if the trigger of Turkey angriness is only the bomb in Suruc. Will be predicted that Turkey’s reason is not only that. But there must be any interest on it.

The brutality of ISIS supposed to make the countries in the world have to concern to protect their countries. Wherever the country is, the protection through terrorism should be increase. So did Turkey, as the neighbor of where chaos happen. In prediction, this country want to act like Egypt. Egypt at the first time also acts like Turkey whom does not want to do military intervention as long as ISIS not destroy its country. But after the murder incident from ISIS that killed 21 Egyptian Christian Orthodox, Egypt carried out ISIS headquarter in Libya. Then after that, Egypt does not doing any military intervention anymore to attacking ISIS. Perhaps, one admonish is enough to preventing ISIS destroys its people. Want to imitating Egypt action, Turkey finally did a “contact” with ISIS by military intervention because the bombing in Suruc that made by ISIS. This is normal situation for country to protect its country from any disturbance. More, Turkey was not the party that begin the war, but ISIS did it. Not stop until that, Turkey then do cooperation with the US to establish “ISIS free-zone” in Turkish-Syrian borders. The concept of “ISIS free-zone” is the zone that cannot be entered by ISIS. Turkish army has been sent to secure this zone. The support of Turkish government to Syrian opposition also shown on this “ISIS free-zone” establishment. Turkey, with the U.S

considered this zone also as “safe zone” for refugees, in the provision, the refugees must keep this zone from ISIS, and the other, which is the enemy of Turkey, Kurdistan⁷. Blind and deaf people can conclude that Turkey’s action by doing military intervention is not only keep its country from ISIS, but also from Kurdish. Now where is the sense of “ISIS free-zone” if Kurdistan also avoided to enter the zone? Kurdistan is not part of ISIS, even they fight against ISIS.

More, the deadlock of Turkey-Syria relations brings Turkey to its second interest, the goal to overthrow Assad regime. Called it as interdependent relations between Turkey and Syrian refugees that have same goal to overthrow Assad regime, Turkey promises “safe zone” for the refugees and support them to attack Assad regime, in other way, refugees feel enlightening and protecting by the help of the neighbor and the father of democracy, the U.S. It will growth the confidence that refugees will easily win to overthrow Assad regime. Prove that this is not only the matter of destroying ISIS, but also to overthrowing Assad regime, and protecting Turkey’s area from Kurdistan.

TURKEY’S RATIONAL CHOICE

The understanding of the relations of two countries or more, or even the domestic problem of a country itself is a part of international relations studies. International relations studies also maintaining the foreign policy, which is also called as international relations policy. Foreign policy is a policy that should have by a country to maintain its relations to other countries. This policy contents of national interests, national security, ideological goals, and economic prosperity of a country that have to imply to other countries as a subject of behavior of a country itself. Country placed itself as the central actor.

Juliet Kaarbo in her article “The Analysis of Foreign Policy in Comparative Perspective” elaborates that there are internal and external factors that influence

⁷ Anne Barnard, et.al, “Goals Diverge and Perils Remain as U.S. and Turkey Take on ISIS”, July 27, 2015. <http://www.nytimes.com>

foreign policy⁸. In internal power, a country think rationally by seeing from public opinion, culture, and even the leader's personality could be a factor to decide a foreign policy. While, the external factor usually influences by its political system, economic wealth, and military power as the mean to shows how powerful the country is. But, the foreign policy of a country could be change or apply to other country by the treats of the other country itself. The important thing is countries are not agents because countries are abstractions and thus have no agency. Only human beings can be true agents, and it is their agency that is the source of all international politics and all change therein⁹.

The explanation above enlighten that the most important thing of foreign policy is it creates by head of government or the decision maker to act in order to bring the interest of the country. But it does not close the possibility that the foreign policy made by the decision maker is based on the interest of the decision maker itself. Any interests put on foreign policy making, but foreign policy has models as the substance to facilitate decision maker in order to focus on what issues must be faced. There are numbers of model in foreign policy, which are rational model, bureaucratic model, and pluralist model. On the analysis of Turkey's action on its turn of military intervention for attacking ISIS, the rational model is the proper model to examine what is really happened to Turkey.

The rational model of foreign policy is an approach of foreign policy making based on rational choice theory. Rational choice theory says that an individual or a party has priority among the available alternative choices that allow them to state which option is more profitable based on cost and benefit¹⁰. Henry R. Nau also gave his opinion on Perspectives on International Relations book that rational model is based on realism theory¹¹. First, it is made by the central government to reach the nation's objective which country is stated as unitary actor. Second, it is made by

⁸ See p7-19

⁹ Valerie M. Hudson, "Foreign Policy Analysis: Actor-Specific Theory and the Ground of International Relations", Brigham Young University, 2005. p 2-3.

¹⁰ Susanne Lohmann, "The New Palgrave Dictionary of Economics 2nd Edition", Palgrave Mcmillan, 2008. <http://www.dictionarofeconomics.com>

¹¹ Henry R. Nau, "Perspectives on International Relations: Power, Institutions, and Ideas Second Edition", George Washington University, 2009.

considering the cost and benefit as the output of the policy made. Third, it is made in the crisis condition. Rational model theory of foreign policy will be a tool to explain why finally Turkey did military intervention through ISIS, and also will explain the reason behind Turkey option to hook the U.S as friends in establishing “ISIS free-zone” in the Turkish-Syrian borders. While there are other strong coalitions which is Russia and its allies with its sophisticated military power and proof by the devastated ISIS in Aleppo. Or why not working alone to fight ISIS, as Egypt did.

Coalition has means to strengthen power. More parties cooperate together, more powerful the coalition is. Turkey chooses to stand in the U.S side as its coalition to attack ISIS. Turkey already join on the U.S led-coalition for destroying ISIS since 2014, but without any struggle to showing up its effort to against ISIS. Then, July 2015 the enjoyment of the U.S might appears because finally after almost a year Turkey choose to do military intervention through ISIS and it help by the U.S. More, the U.S allowed to strengthen its power by build air base in Incirlik to simplify the U.S to do intervention in the air through ISIS. People keep asking why Turkey did an action like that. The question is, is Turkey already thinking of it wisely? By using airstrikes to against ISIS, is Turkey sure the strike is killed ISIS members and not hurt and kill Syrian? Is the military intervention is the only way to overthrow ISIS? Why do not do any other thing like diplomatic way? Or to avoid so much cost, Turkey stay still on its seat only, then the condition will not getting worse. If want to imitate Egypt perfectly, carried out airstrikes once is enough. Even until now it works because ISIS could not carried out any attack in Egypt. More, the incident that killed 33 Turkish is unbalance with how many innocent Syrian that will killed by its airstrikes. Or imagine how many chaos, example people lost their house, lost their family and so on. Then, in economically, how much money that will spend for military intervention. If seen from the question, of course, many losses are obtained. But Turkey already choose its “proper” way to revenge. Then why the “friend” is the U.S? Why Turkey does not did its military intervention by itself? In this term, the concept of rational model in foreign policy action will implement by the explanation.

As the explanation above, rational model leaning on the theory of rational choice. By collecting any choices, then analyzing which choice that has more benefit and less cost. The perfect one will be out as the best choice and also as the decision that will use by someone to implement. So does Turkey. Definitely Turkey's decision to undertake military intervention is surely in well discussed. More, the presence of this military intervention, Turkey should be a little ashamed of having been betrayed on its "zero-problem-with-neighbor" foreign policy.

Turkey in terms of Domestic Security

In term of revenge, it does not the matter of quantity. 33 Turkish killed by ISIS perhaps is unbalance of number, but once more, it could not be compared. This is not the matter of quantity, but the human right violation and also the disturbance of the stabilizing of a country. Like human being, surely country has self-defense. Of course the incident was hurt Turkey and its sovereignty. Turkey is likened calm country, which still keep its foreign policy in term of its relation to neighboring countries, and do not want to be involved in intervening in ISIS in order to maintain its relations with Syria not getting worse. It can be concluded that, regardless of which must be maintained in order to foreign relations, but more important is the domestic defense. Country, including Turkey, should give priority to the domestic relations, as same as protecting its citizens. Regardless of the number of victims that exist in Turkey, it is all the responsibility of the Turkey, no matter how much risk, protect the citizens is the most important thing. More, Turkey is supporting Syrian opposition and also protecting them. There is no reason for Turkey to not protecting its citizens if the citizens of Syria be laboriously protected by this country. So better Turkey "embarrass" him in front of the world, rather than having to start viewing people angry, suffering, and fear of ISIS.

Then the image of Turkish leader also is at stake. Erdogan as president of Turkey was indeed loved by his citizens¹². Hamble and populist become “weapons” to win over the heart of citizens of Turkey. The decision to attack the ISIS who had attacked its citizens is also the effort of Erdogan to not losing the sympathy of the citizens. So, people will feel happy their leader is more concerned with people than the foreign policy that good in the eyes of the world, but dilapidated inside.

Turkey Choose the U.S as its “friend”

Talking about who will be as Turkey’s partner to accompany it to do military intervention, of course the U.S is perfect choice on it. First is because Turkey since October 2, 2014 has been doing little change in its attitude to fight ISIS by choosing to join the U.S led-coalition along with other countries, including Australia, Bahrain, Canada, France, Jordan, Saudi Arabia, and United Arab Emirates. But it just join, not as aggressive as the U.S which is carried out bombing raids against ISIS. Then not be surprising if eventually this military intervention picked the U.S as a friend. Imagine if Turkey did military intervention by itself, possibly it would be considered betraying its agreement to join the U.S led-coalition. More, it means Turkey being other coalition that will attacking ISIS and also as the other side of the U.S led-coalition. Unlike the case with Egypt who did not join any coalitions. Egypt go around attacking ISIS by itself, once or how many times it attacking ISIS is surrendered of it because it was not bound by the co-operation of any coalitions.

Then there is other rational choice. Turkey has purpose to repeat the success in terms of military in its relationship with the U.S. Turkey has previously cooperated with the U.S in this kind of thing, Cold War and Korean War¹³. The U.S and Turkey signed a military assistance agreement that went beyond their

¹² “Beredar Video Erdogan Shalat di Pintu Masjid karena Terlambat Datang Shalat Jum'at” by ResistNews Blog, December 2, 2013. <http://www.youtube.com>

Also watch: “Presiden Turki Recep Tayyip Tidak Mau Tangannya Dicum dan Membagi bagikan roti” by BDC Video, November 16, 2014. <http://www.youtube.com>

¹³ Joshua W. Walker, “Learning Strategic Depth: Implications of Turkey’s New Foreign Policy Doctrine”, *Insight Turkey* Vol.9 No.3, July, 2003, SETA Foundation. p35

common interest to deter the Soviet Union from annexing strategic territory along the Bosphorus when Cold War era, and committed each country to active cooperation and mutual defense. Besides military assistance, economic assistance was also provided while Turkey's participation in the Korean War deepened her friendship with its Western comrade-in-arms¹⁴. This also brings the turkey into NATO. It means, benefit gained into double. In addition to repelling ISIS, diplomatic relations between Turkey and the U.S became more closely.

To undermine the government of Assad, Turkey should have the right friends. The U.S with the same purpose also want to undermine the Assad regime. If Turkey initially have made efforts to overthrow the Assad regime with the support of the opposition, but it was not strong enough to destabilize the Assad government. In cooperation with the U.S will help Turkey build strength. Especially, the U.S is very concerned with democracy, which is violated by Assad. So by hook up the U.S as its friend, Turkey will not be the one who blamed by the world because of the chaos condition through Syria in military intervention against ISIS, because the U.S will protect its ally in same level with how it is protecting itself.

In military power, Turkey is not weak. Even classified as a powerful country in the military. Based on Global Fire Power Website, Turkey in 10 position of strength military in the world, with the U.S as the first stronger country¹⁵. Imagine if the two countries are strong in terms of the military, the U.S in the first rank of the strongest, and Turkey ranked 10th strongest in the world. ISIS will certainly fear. Not only ISIS, of course Syria will also feel threatened by this. Then the spreading of wrong ideology of ISIS in the world will decrease, and the peaceful world like what the U.S dreams will be created.

Besides the presence of this coalition, will reduce the expenditure of money for the war. Permission granted by Turkey for the U.S to build air base in Incirlik be one of the strategies that Turkey do, it not has to provide aircraft, because it

¹⁴ Ibid.

¹⁵ "Turkey joins China and India in attempting to become a large scale military supplier through several high profile ongoing development programs" in *Global Fire Power*, November 13, 2015. <http://www.globalfirepower.com>

already provide by the US. Likely to spend more money to buy weapons needs. This war also undoubtedly helped by the intake of funds from another country who is also the U.S led-coalition.

One Step Closer to Join European Union (EU)

Turkey such as loss of its identity. Turkey cannot be considered as Muslim country since it has secular mind and westernized. But Turkey is also located in the Middle East and it is the birthplace where the history of the world's largest Islamic empire, Ottoman Empire. This country geographically stand by left foot in Asia, and right foot in Europe make Turkey as a giddy country. Considered as a snob country that forgets its Islamic history, Turkey seem ignored by Middle East countries. In western, Turkey does not get well treatment otherwise. Considered as the "greenhorn" it makes Turkey difficult to be accepted in Europe, although the desire of it is very big. Proved from Turkey's status that has hung over four decades of wanting to join the EU, but has yet to receive approval. Just think of rational choice selected by the Turkey to join with the U.S to undertake military intervention is an attempt of Turkey for showing up its power. The country that has always ruled out by Western and Middle East is able to pick up a friend as strong as the U.S to intervene the enemy of people in the world, which is ISIS. This will bring up the image that Turkey should not be underestimated and should be reckoned in Asia, and Europe. In other words, Turkey will be easier to be accepted into the EU.

Russia is not the right "friend"

Fickle action of United Arab Emirates fortunately not doing by Turkey. After the appearance of other coalition, which is Russia coalition, UAE choose to join on it. Probably, UAE want to acts like neutral to fight against ISIS. Because this country still also join in the U.S led-coalition. Known, this way used by UAE to strengthen its power to face Iran in Persian Bay. Turkey did not do that way even Russia also strong country and perhaps it would vibrate ISIS. Prove by Aleppo which can be free from ISIS by bombing from Syria. There are numbers of reasons why Turkey still standing to the U.S even Russia showing off its effectiveness in

fighting ISIS. First, can be say that Russia is too late. This country decided to do military intervention on September, while Turkey already attacking ISIS with companion by the U.S on July. Even there is always be any opportunity for Turkey to changes its coalition. But, Turkey seems not in the same line with Russia. Russia really want Assad on defense in his position. While, Turkey hates Assad, it wants Assad overthrow in his position. No matter what, Turkey will not join any party who supporting Assad regime.

Other thing, little bit moved from ISIS problem, Russia always has different vision and mission with EU. Even in Ukraine problem, Russia come over to prevent this country to join on EU. It will probably be a problem of Turkey if it changes to Russia coalition. Turkey will not has chance to join EU, meanwhile this will be slows its ever after dream, joining into EU.

SECURITIZATION IDEA

Barry Buzan, representing the constructivist, developed the securitization idea from Ole Wæver who define that securitization theory is elaborating the insight that no issue is essentially as a threat¹⁶. In other words, securitization is the art of speech. The understanding of securitization considered as the act to maintain the security, nevertheless in Barry Buzan idea, there are actually nothing as a threat. For a country, it is a power of language, in which the conditions of possibility of threats are internal to the act of saying “security.”¹⁷ It can be conclude that securitization idea is talking about the complicated way that takes by a country to achieve the national interest but it doing indirect thing to achieve that national interest which nobody knows what exactly the main interest that this country really want to achieve.

ISIS AND THE SECURITIZATION PROJECT OF TURKEY

Overthrowing ISIS, Kurdish, and Assad Regime

¹⁶ Thierry Balzacq, “Securitization Theory How Security problems emerge and dissolve”, Routledge, London and New York, 2011.

¹⁷ Ibid.

Turkey's behavior can be connected with other objectives that it wants to achieve. The prejudice that Turkey actually wants to prevent its region from Kurdistan could be true from the way of how Turkey was more hectic to attack Kurdistan in Turkish-Syrian and Turkish-Iraqi borders. However, other presumption also appears, which is to overthrow Assad regime.

CONCLUSION

Rational choice has perfectly applied in Turkey's decision through its way to attack ISIS. How much embracement that got by Turkey because it betrayed its "zero-problem-with-neighbor" policy, it not be serious problem as long as the domestic protected well by the government. Then, Turkey changes to coalition to attacking ISIS, since at that time it was only the U.S (before Russia appears on September 2015) that using hectic military intervention through ISIS. Turkey will unable to be other coalition that beat the U.S because the U.S is the strongest in the world in terms of military. Rather be second coalition, join with the U.S will makes Turkey get so much benefit in terms of strengthen military, closing their relations, and decreasing the cost of war. But, still these two countries not showing their success on attacking ISIS. This group still do terrorism action and seems not afraid of this. Then, not joining with Russia is an accurate way since Turkey has different other goal, which is overthrowing Assad regime.****

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